LABOUR MONTHLY

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BATTLE STRATEGY

The Editor

ACTION DECIDES

Michael McGahey, Bernard Panter, Frank Watters

WOMEN IN THE SUDAN

Fatma Ahmed Ibrahim

South Africa Freedom Day — Ruth First
Trade Training? — Digby Jacks and others
Shall War Criminals Go Free? — D. N. Pritt
Earl Mountbatten of Burma — Cmdr. E. P. Young

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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Notes of the Month

BATTLE STRATEGY

'There is good hope that once a Labour Government has gone the necessary inch a later Conservative Government may pluck up more courage to go the necessary ell.'

Economist, January 4, 1969.

'We are faced with great uncertainty about the future of the party.'

HARRY NICHOLAS, General Secretary of the Labour Party, speech to the Foundry Workers' conference, Llandudno, April 17, 1969.

'Our unity and political purpose matters more to the country than the marginal damage of unconstitutional strikes.'

DOUGLAS HOUGHTON, Chairman of the Liaison Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party, to a party meeting, *Times* report, May 9, 1969.

'If I were Ted Heath, I would say to Harold Wilson: "For God's sake, do not get out of office, because you can get away with more blue murder than I can" . . .
'We should warn them that if they go ahead with their legislation, the TUC will call an official general strike.'

JOE WHELAN, Nottinghamshire Area of the National Union of Mineworkers, at the Special TUC, June 5, 1969.

June 18, 1969

At the moment of going to press the announcement has been made of the agreement between the Cabinet and the TUC. It is a tribute to the strength of the united working class resistance that the threat of penal clauses has had to be withdrawn. But the battle is not over.

June 16, 1969

The battle against the threatened anti-union legislation will not be banished by any of the compromises now being proposed. At the moment of writing the cliff-hanger day-by-day serial of confrontations of Ministers and trade union leaders has not yet reached its climax. But the strategy of the enemy, of the aggressors, of those who want to cut the unions' claws, is unmistakable. First, to use the blackmail threat of legislation in order to induce the unions to inflict on themselves the maximum 'voluntary' self-mutilation to curb their own powers and impose the harshest penalties, including possible deprivation of employment, on militant trade unionists

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and shop stewards. Second, after this has been done, to carry through none the less the anti-union legislation, in whatever form may be finally judged expedient. Third, after the consequent discredit of the Labour Government and disruption of the labour movement has ensured a Tory election victory, for the resulting Tory Government to complete the job and carry through the final more complete forms of anti-union legislation. Such is the pretty plan which is being enacted before our eyes, at present still in the form of the daily drama of top-level 'consultations', until such time as the fulfilment will follow, if the strategy were allowed to succeed, and the lash would be laid across the backs of the workers.

Outcome of the Special TUC

Against this strategy only the action of the entire strength of the organised working class can be decisive to defeat it. The Special TUC on June 5 did indeed express the overwhelming, almost unanimous opposition of the eight and a half million trade unionists to the Government's proposals to 'impose statutory financial penalties on workpeople or on trade unions in connection either with industrial disputes or with the compulsory registration by trade unions of their rules.' But the same Special TUC did also accept, this time against a minority of 846,000, the General Council's own proposals, presented as an alternative to those of the Government, for the General Council to be endowed with powers to intervene in strikes, and to impose its own penalties for disobedience to its judgments. No wonder Harold Wilson acclaimed this part of the Special Congress decisions as a triumph for his policy. At the same time the demand of several unions, of widely representative delegate conferences of trade unionists all over the country, notably the conference at Birmingham (described on p. 307) with delegates from organisations representing four million trade unionists, and of the lobby of 2,000 representatives at Croydon, all calling for industrial action, and specifically for a pledge of the TUC to call a 24-hour general strike against the bill, if introduced with penal clauses, was not permitted to be placed on the agenda or voted on at the Special Congress. It is true that Hugh Scanlon, speaking with the full weight of his position as the President of the million-strong Engineers, said at the Congress:

> If in spite of all we are attempting to do, and in spite of all the heart-searching that has gone on, the Government persists in introducing its penal clauses, then I believe this now united trade union movement cannot protect itself merely in the passing of resolutions.

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But this was an expression in a speech, not yet a decision of Congress.

Action Decisive

Yet the whole record of these critical five months since the publication of the White Paper has shown that it is the massive resistance of the organised working class, the widespread readiness for action, and the preparatory actions already taken, with the lobby of February 27, and the strike of a quarter of a million key workers on May 1, when not a single national newspaper in London could be published, which has so powerfully reinforced the opposition votes of the General Council, of the Special TUC, of the Labour Party Executive, and the warnings of so many Labour MPs and some Labour Ministers. This is the situation which has led to the prolonged hesitations of the Government and the unparalleled crisis in the relations of the Government with the trade unions and the Labour Party, opening up new and far-reaching questions of the whole future of the labour movement and of the political prospect in Britain. In face of this manifest strength of working class resistance the initial confident tone of the millionaire press oracles, who in January so jubilantly applauded the courage of the Government in deciding to tackle the trade unions and demanded stronger measures, has begun to falter and in some cases even counsel caution on the Government. *The Guardian* editorial led the way in sounding the retreat on June 6:

> The Government ought to take its courage in its hands, avoid the temptation to take political short cuts, and give the TUC a chance to show what it can do.

By June 8 even the *Daily Telegraph* editorial urged the same line:

> Mrs. Castle's proposals are quite inadequate. The TUC's own proposals are only a bit worse. Whether from Mr. Wilson's point of view or the country's, is the difference really worth the fight?

Only *The Times* editorial of June 10 still stoutly called on the Government to stand firm:

> They have left themselves no choice in public reputation but to proceed or to quit.

So the 'Off-On-Off-On' melodrama has been indefinitely prolonged, meeting the reality of class confrontation with a bewildering array of alternative forms of the same basic official policy, and thus serving to create a fog of confusion around the whole issue in the hope to disrupt the opposition.

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Why?

Why has the Government, or at any rate the Inner Cabinet, or the ruling Wilson-Castle-Jenkins trio, or in the last resort Mr. Wilson, been so obstinate, during all these deadlocked six months since the original interchanges with the TUC last December preceding the publication of the White Paper *For the Sake of Strife* in January, to press forward with this policy in the face of every warning, equally of practical experience, of all with knowledge in this sphere, and of every organ of the labour movement? The question is worth asking. The Donovan Report itself, from the Commission expressly set up by the Government to advise it on industrial relations and trade union legislation, explicitly condemned any attempt to curb strikes by legislative penal sanctions as bound to fail. The practical experience of the entire modern period, from the era of the first world war and the failure of Lloyd George and Churchill to abolish strikes by the prosecution of strikers under the Munitions Act, to the similar failure of the Attlee Labour Government's prosecution of strikers under Order 1305, which had finally to be withdrawn, has proved the inefficiency of such penal sanctions in the face of working class solidarity. Not only has every organ of the labour movement declared opposition, but prominent right-wing leaders in authoritative positions, like the Chairman of the parliamentary party, have warned the Government that legislation of this type would wreck the labour movement. Yet the obstinate persistence on this suicidal course has so far, up to the time of writing, persisted.

Whose Guiding Voice?

It has been suggested that the real motive behind this suicidal obstinacy of Mr. Wilson and those colleagues associated with him is the belief, stimulated by newspaper polls (a method of counting heads individually, but never a reliable basis for estimating class forces—witness the consistent underestimate by the polls of the real measure of support for Duclos in the French presidential election), that by heroically defying the unions and insisting on this policy of penal sanctions against unions and strikers, which they very well know to be impracticable in practice, they will restore the bankrupt electoral fortunes of their deeply discredited Government and prepare victory at the coming election. Their calculation, according to this theory, would be that such a demonstration to the public that, however manifestly weak they may be before international financiers or big monopolists, they are able to take

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a strong line with trade unions and militant workers, would win the support of anti-union sections of floating voters and thus turn the balance at the next election. But this hypothesis will not work. Apart from the fact that these anti-union sections of floating voters are likely to be anti-Labour anyway, the right-wing leaders heading the Labour Government know very well that Labour's electoral basis in the country, not merely financial basis, rests on the support of the trade unions, with their eight and a half million members (not all of whom vote Labour) and the traditional sentiments of working class solidarity so far expressing themselves in this form. These smooth-spoken interpreters of the policies of finance-capital, who at present dominate the Labour Government, know very well that without this basis in the organised working class they would rapidly share the fate of the Liberal Party. The destruction of this basis would bring, not electoral victory, but electoral disaster. Hence the reasons for this suicidal obstinacy in their anti-union course need to be sought in something deeper than supposed miscalculations of electoral expediency.

Letter of Intent

We have not yet the promised public text of the Letter of Intent which Chancellor Jenkins has been wrestling with the bankers in Washington to draw up in the prolonged secret negotiations which have accompanied the loudly publicised interchanges between the Government and trade union leaders in Britain. The purpose of the Letter of Intent is to obtain the new £418 million loan in order to keep the British Government afloat on its sea of loans and interest charges and repayments and deferments of repayments rising ever higher. The Government has informed anxious questioners in parliament that the text of the Letter of Intent will not be published until after it has been signed—that is, parliament will have no say, and the people will have no say in this settling of their fate over their heads. By the time the text is published, the published text may be likely to be less revealing than the real negotiations which have taken place. It is clear that Shylock is demanding his pound of flesh. Each time the debtor presents himself anew, the screw is turned tighter. When Crossman suddenly startled Labour MPs and even most Labour Ministers in May by announcing the increased charges on dentures and spectacles in order to raise £3½ million, it was obvious that the consideration giving rise to such a course, so flagrantly in violation of election pledges, and so bound to raise the maximum ructions in the labour movement, was not primarily

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the sum of money thus to be raised. £3½ million could only be chicken feed to a Government which could glory in entering into a £2,000 million Anglo-German combat plane project, or complacently announce that the cost of Concorde had risen from the original estimate of £150 million to £750 million, but that if it were to rise another £100 million they might have to reconsider it. The contradictory successive official explanations of why the £3½ million was needed, first that it was to pay for hospitals, then, when this was denied by the Health Ministry, that it was to pay for comprehensive schools, also threw doubt on the motivation of the whole affair. All these circumstances inevitably gave rise to the suspicion that this sudden imposition of £3½ million extra taxation, apropos of nothing, and apart from the budget, on the sick and elderly poor was not so much a normal fiscal measure as part of a package deal, a symbol, a pledge of the determination of the Government to face obloquy and impose burdens on the people in order to meet the demands of the financiers.

'A Tinge of Anarchy in Labour Relations'

For this reason, just as in 1931, the parallel secret negotiations with the international bankers should be seen as the indispensable counterpart of the public interchanges between the Government and the trade union leaders. Just as the full story of 1931, with the scene of the Cabinet in the garden of No. 10 Downing Street on that hot August night awaiting the telegram from the New York bankers on the economy cuts to be imposed, was only revealed long after, and indeed the full story of the fall of the First Labour Government in 1924 is only today beginning to be made known with the publication (still apparently in incomplete form) of Tom Jones's *Whitehall Diary*, so now we may have to wait for years to get any adequate account of these crucial negotiations with the international bankers to settle the fate of Britain. However, a corner of the veil was lifted when on June 9, on the same day that the direct negotiations between Mr. Wilson, Mrs. Castle and the TUC General Council began, the Bank of International Settlements Report was published and made direct reference to Britain's unsatisfactory economic situation, which it attributed to

> insistence on maintaining a tinge of anarchy in labour relations and on clinging to the money illusion of unrealistic increases in take-home pay.

In vain Mr. Callaghan has sought to deny this falsified picture presented by the International Bank of a strike-bound Britain as

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the cause of Britain's troubles. In vain this conventional mythology has been exposed a thousand times by the publication of relative strike figures of different countries, showing Britain as relatively low in comparison with most other major capitalist countries in the proportion of working days lost through strikes. This myth has indeed been decisively exploded by the recent study of the Cambridge Professor of Industrial Relations, H. A. Turner, published under the title *Is Britain Really Strike-Bound?* But the important thing is not the myth. The important thing is the purpose for which it is thus presented as the judgment of the international bankers on Britain.

Intervention of High Finance

The international bankers publicly attribute Britain's economic difficulties, not to the real causes in the Government's policy and the policies of British finance-capital in laying on Britain a crippling burden of overseas military expenditure and capital export on a scale unparalleled in the rival capitalist industrial countries of Europe or Japan, but to the excessive high standards of living of the workers and their proneness to strikes. The implication of this Report of the international bankers, to whom the British Government looks for sustenance, in order to balance its accounts, is that it is the duty of the British Government to cut down the standards of the workers and adopt measures to curb strikes. This is of course the normal viewpoint and advice of the international bankers. It is the same advice they gave in 1931, when they insisted on Ramsay MacDonald carrying through the 10 per cent cut on the unemployed, with the result of wrecking the Labour Cabinet, wrecking the pound and condemning Britain to the grim decade of mass unemployment never falling below a million, until it was broken only by the war. Time was when such intervention by foreign interests in the domestic affairs of Britain might have been regarded as an intolerable outrage. But those times are long past. The bailiffs are in. Regular as the clock at the duly appointed seasons of the year the bailiff's men, politely known as the delegation of officials of the International Monetary Fund, present themselves in London to conduct their inspection and supervision of Britain's finances and the running of Britain's affairs by the native government, just as with any Latin American Republic. Britain, which has already docilely joined Nato and Cento and Seato, might also apply to join the Alliance for Progress.

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'A Bankers' Ramp'? No! Britain In Pawn

Does this mean that this whole offensive against trade union rights and wage increases and strikes is 'a bankers' ramp', as the phrase has it, a plot of international financiers against Britain, a conspiracy of 'gnomes of Zurich' and similar monsters? This is a fairy-tale over-simplification which conceals the real responsibility of the British Government in order to set up cardboard figures to be the targets of abuse. These bankers are only moneylenders. The interest of the moneylender is to get the maximum return on his money. Since they know that the return on the money they lend to governments can only come out of the surplus extracted from the workers they are naturally concerned to make sure that those governments are adequately squeezing their workers. But the real question is not the wickedness of the money lender. The real question is why the Government has allowed itself and the fortunes of the country to fall into the hands of the moneylenders. If the dissolute householder in the ancient fable has gambled away the family fortunes, and fallen deeper and deeper into debt to pay for his extravagance, then angrily turns on his family to upbraid them for the desperate economic situation and impress on them the need to reduce drastically all housekeeping costs and cut the children's education in order to achieve a balance, while he continues his extravagance, then it is obvious that the first necessity is not to abuse the moneylender as the criminal, but to end the extravagance, that is, to change the policy. And that homely old fable does indeed picture the problem of Britain's situation today.

Mounting Debt—For What?

Ever since 1945 successive British Governments have been floating in a sea of mounting indebtedness to foreign bankers in order to pay for grandiose policies of imperialist extravagance (cold war, colonialist and neo-colonialist), reflected in chronically recurring deficits on the balance of payments. The Attlee Government in 1945 began with the £1,000 million American loan, which tied Britain to American policy and had to be paid for with Nato and German rearmament. Today, in respect of those American and Canadian credits between 1945 and 1948 'in spite of substantial repayments the debts are now larger than when they were incurred' (*Financial Times*, December 10, 1968). The 1949 devaluation added £592 million to these debts, and the 1967 devaluation another £281 million. The pace of sinking in a morass of debts has increased. During the five years 1964-68 the *Financial Times* (April 8, 1969) has

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estimated that Britain's net short-term indebtedness has increased by £3,600 million. Was all this reckless borrowing in order to pay for higher standards of living of the people? Not at all. It was entirely to pay for grandiose policies of overseas capital expansion and vast military costs to maintain these overseas interests. On the basis of this reckless short-term borrowing the total of net long term capital exports, mainly to developed countries, has risen from £303 million in 1966 to £435 million in 1967 and £621 million in 1968, or an increase of £318 million in two years (figures given by the Director General of the National Economic Development Council in an address to the Northampton College of Technology on April 29). The Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Harold Lever, pointed out in an address to the Press Club on June 13 that the deficit on the balance of payments is entirely accounted for by Government overseas expenditure:

> On Government expenditure overseas Mr. Lever points out that if expenditure on defence and aid is netted out of the balance of payments the current account would show an annual average surplus of £250 million between 1952 and 1968. Even taking just the last five years, when the balance of payments problem has been chronic, there would have been a surplus of some £150 million a year (*Guardian*, June 14, 1969).

In addition he pointed out that the sterling balances in London involve a further drain on the balance of payments amounting to £200 million a year. With this admission the Government has itself blown skyhigh its plea that excessive wage increases or strikes have caused the deficit in the balance of payments.

Economic Experts' Blind Eye

Sir Roy Harrod is a distinguished academic economist, and in many respects a supporter of more progressive policies. In a recent survey under the title 'Where Lie Our Ills?' (*Guardian*, June 14, 1969) he sought to diagnose Britain's economic difficulties. He set out the principle:

> Every schoolboy knew a maxim for his future life, that he must not continue to be in debt year after year . . . In the past 14 years the authorities of this country do not seem to have taken heed of this.

He then contrasts Britain's post-war economy with that before 1939 in the following terms:

> Before the second world war 'invisible' income was paying for around one-third of our imports. In 1967 this income paid for 4 per cent only, and that was typical of recent years.

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The statistics are correct; but the main fact is missing. It is true that the British imperialist economy, as Lenin long ago showed, has always been a parasitic economy; by 1913 one-fifth of imports were no longer paid for by exports of goods, and by 1938 one-third of imports were no longer paid for by exports of goods. The so-called 'invisible' income, mainly from overseas profits and City financial transactions, paid for the rest. But when Sir Roy points out that today the 'invisible' income only pays for one twenty-fifth of imports, this might appear to imply the conventional mythical picture of the 'end of empire' in the sense of the end of imperialist parasitism. On the contrary, the 'invisible' income has greatly increased; the parasitism has increased; but the cost of maintaining the overseas assets, the military and financial burden of which used to be cast on the colonial budgets, now has to be borne by Britain, and eats up a heavy proportion of the 'invisible' income, with a resulting deficit in the balance of payments. Angrily the Director of the Committee on Invisible Exports wrote in answer to Sir Roy (*Guardian*, June 14, 1969):

> The net invisible figures Sir Roy seems to have used to arrive at his percentages in fact roll together two quite dissimilar elements: Government net expenditure abroad and the net contribution of the country's private invisible exporters. Thus the apparently disappointing contribution of our invisible exporters is a direct reflection of the sharp rise in Government spending abroad from an annual average deficit of only £6 million in 1934-38 to a deficit of £466 million in 1967.
>
> Over the same period the net surplus on Britain's private invisible exporters rose from an annual average of £221 million to no less than £702 million last year. The surplus reached £839 million in 1968, and the Committee on Invisible Exports estimates it should reach between £900 million and £1,000 million in 1970-71.

Thus the imperialist parasitism (for the greater part of this rising 'invisible' income is from overseas profits and financial transactions) goes on merrily increasing. But what was before both profitable for the monopolists and financiers and a foundation for the imperialist economy as an apparently thriving concern continues now more profitable than ever for the monopolists and financiers, but has become a drain for the economy of the country. This is what has given rise to the offensive on workers' wages and trade union rights.

Capitalism in Crisis

Thus the united resistance of the working class to the anti-union offensive and the so-called incomes policy does not represent the

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defence of the interests of a section against a supposed 'national' interest. On the contrary, it represents the fight for the true interests of the entire British people other than the monopolists, and for the future of Britain's economy. The basis of imperialist parasitism is a sick basis, which will in any case have to be transformed as the peoples subjected to neo-colonialist exploitation rise up to take over their countries' resources and end the payment of tribute. But the immediate offensive on the working people in Britain, which is being conducted in order to maintain this system, is bringing a black outlook of further deterioration, restriction of industry, and rising unemployment in Britain's economy. *The Economist* (June 14, 1969) has calculated on the basis of the first quarter of 1969

> a gloomy provisional estimate of a total balance of payments deficit of £124 million in the quarter, or an annual rate of nearly £500 million at a time when the Government's original devaluation-time strategy assumed that the country would be running a surplus of some £500 million. The country is approximately £1,000 million off target . . .
>
> Today's extremely high world interest rates make it pretty clear that the world trade boom will soon slacken, possibly very seriously, either in late 1969 or early 1970 (slightly more probably the latter). When this happens the presumption must be that Britain will go into bigger balance of payments deficit still.

The crisis of currencies is the symptom of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism. Interest rates running at 10¼ per cent for the most favourable bank advances in the United States, or 12 per cent for Eurodollars, are signs of a general instability and lack of confidence, and of an attempted governmental deflationary offensive to fight the continuous inflation, which has also been the consequence of government policies over the past years. It is time for the dreamers to awaken from the obsolete social-democratic illusions of a crisis-free 'neo-capitalism' in the West, or from the subsequent now equally outdated Marcuse-Fanon-Debray illusions of the vanishing of the old forms of class struggle in the Western capitalist world through the 'integration' of a passive working class in the modern 'integrated' 'industrial society' of super-capitalism, with revolt left only to the countries of national liberation or the outcasts in Western Society. It is time to awaken to the Marxist realities of the modern world, equally the decisive advance of the socialist world (alongside all the accompanying problems of growth), the advance of national liberation through alliance with socialism and the international working class, and the now rapidly developing working class struggle in all the Western capitalist countries.

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Crisis of Social-Democracy

The crisis of capitalism is inevitably reflected in the current crisis of social-democracy. Not in the sense of bankruptcy of the working masses who are still in the social-democratic parties, mainly in Britain and West Germany, increasing numbers of whom are moving into opposition to the bankrupt policies of their leadership and entering into joint struggle with the communists and for a united left. But in the sense of the bankruptcy of those policies and that leadership of social-democracy which has represented the voice and echo of capitalism in the working class movement, and which has directed its offensive against the militant working class and communism. In the French presidential election the Socialist Anti-Communist candidate, who refused the communist proposal for a united left and thereby handed the electoral victory to reaction, won only 5 per cent of the votes, while the Communist candidate won 21 per cent. In Italy the Socialist Party, which sought to combine the Saragat right wing and the Nenni socialists on a common platform of anti-communism and ministerial participation, is now rent with divisions and confusion, as the so-called 'left-centre' policy, excluding socialist-communist co-operation for left unity, has aroused increasing opposition. In the West German presidential election Heinemann, who had resigned from the Adenauer Cabinet in 1950 in opposition to German rearmament, was elected by the combined vote of the Social-Democrats and the Free Democrats against the combined vote of the Christian Democrats and the Neo-Nazis. The German Communist Party is now established in West Germany, despite the ban on the old Communist Party of Germany. And the recent Congress of the West German Federation of Trade Unions in May has carried a resolution for renewal of contacts with the Soviet trade unions and those of other socialist countries. New currents are stirring even in the old fortress of reaction in Western Europe.

For Working Class Unity

In this developing situation the need is greater than ever for working class unity, and left unity, equally in Britain and internationally. The International Conference of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties held in June is a historical landmark in this advance. Western press reporters and commentators have sought above all to dwell on divisions and differences. This only demonstrates their concern and anxiety at the strength and successful significance of the holding of this wide and representative conference, and the

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inspiring influence which it will exercise in all the countries of the world. The universally expressed desire to strengthen international co-operation and unity was stronger than any expression of differences, and co-operation in the common struggle will help to promote common understanding to resolve the problems in the path. Internationalism lives and will conquer. In Britain also the need of working class unity and left unity is no less urgent. In face of the challenge of the anti-union offensive and the threatened Industrial Relations Bill the sternest testing time is in front.

R.P.D.

ZELDA KAHAN COATES

We pay tribute to the memory of Zelda Kahan Coates as one of the most honoured pioneers of the teaching of Marxism in Britain, an indefatigable fighter in the socialist movement and creative producer of many invaluable works. Readers will recall her 'Memories of Lenin' which was published in *Labour Monthly* in 1968.

Towards the Lenin Centenary

Lenin on Revolutionary Violence and the Mass Movement

People who judge superficially the numerous enemies of our revolution, and those who still vacillate between the revolution and its opponents, are most of all struck by that feature of our revolution which expressed itself in the determined, relentlessly firm way it has dealt with the exploiters and enemies of the working people. There is no doubt that without that feature, without revolutionary violence, the proletariat could not have triumphed. But there cannot be any doubt, either, that revolutionary violence was a necessary and legitimate method of the revolution only at definite stages of its development, only when definite and special conditions prevailed: and that a far more profound and permanent feature of this revolution, and the condition of its victory, was and remains the organisation of the proletarian masses, the organisation of the working people. And it is in this organisation of millions of working people that are contained the best conditions for the revolution, its deepest source of victory.

Lenin, speech in memory of Y. M. Sverdlov, March 18, 1919. (*Collected Works*, English edition, Vol. 29, pp. 89-90.)

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ACTION DECIDES (1)

Michael McGahey

President, National Union of Mineworkers Scottish Area

THERE are periods when those of us who are active in the working class movement come to the conclusion that some of our political leaders have lost their senses! Such is the situation today. The determination of Wilson and Castle to push through their White Paper, *In Place of Strife*, has created a situation unprecedented in the long history of the British labour and trade union movement. The cleavage which exists between the movement and the Inner Cabinet, who are apparently selected on the basis of their loyalty not to principles but to Wilson, is so great as to be impossible to bridge.

There are two diametrically opposed concepts as to the role, responsibilities and functions of the trade unions. The Wilson-Castle concept is clearly that trade unions must conform to the dictates and wishes of the employers and failure to do so will bring upon the workers the full wrath of the state machine. This, of course, arises out of the general political strategy of the Government, whose aim is to make capitalism work more efficiently than the Tories could ever manage, and out of the actions of people who, if they ever were socialists, which is doubtful, have lost all their socialist tendencies.

But they should be under no illusion—the movement knows how to deal with leaders who prepare for a sell-out. The campaign against the White Paper is a classic example of the deep-rooted consciousness of the workers in this country springing from their century old experience of the need to struggle for their aims and aspirations. There never has been such a united movement since the 1920s.

The Government, in putting forward their proposals, start from the premise that the major responsibility for the economic ills of the capitalist system lies with the working class movement and with the action of the trade unions who are attempting to defend and improve the living standards of their members. They refuse to recognise the facts of life—that Britain is a wealthy country but that the products of the labour of millions of its population are being dissipated in the mad rush for armaments; that the so-called balance of payments problem which obsesses the Wilson-Castle administration arises

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from the armaments bill; the colossal outflow of capital from Britain in the search for ever greater profit. If they were to take the leadership and guidance of the movement they should drastically slash armaments, including overseas military expenses, and control the outflow of capital. By doing so the problems of the balance of payments could be solved. But their aim and ambition is to squeeze the workers.

However, the movement refuses to concede.

The Scottish miners on January 10, by unanimous decision of their Conference, supported by many sections of the labour and trade union movement, issued the call for a Special Trades Union Congress and for a major lobby on February 27. They also supported action on May 1 and the lobby of the Special TUC which was convened on June 5. Here for the first time for many decades was a call for the movement to use its industrial power to defeat reactionary, political measures that would strangle the movement in face of the giant monopolies who are the controlling factors in Britain's economy—the development which has been stimulated by the Government's Industrial Re-organisation Corporation which raises before our eyes the image of oligarchy depicted by Jack London in his *Iron Heel*. But despite this, the response has been terrific!

February 27 was a major step forward with thousands lobbying on the streets. May 1, 1969, heralded a return to the traditional ideas of the British working class movement with major strikes in many of the industrial centres of Britain, involving hundreds of thousands of workers projecting the image of the need to rededicate the movement towards the aims of a socialist Britain.

The convening of the Special Trades Union Congress on June 5, the first since the glorious campaigns of the 'Hands off Russia' movement fifty years ago, was called in response to the demands that arose from the pressure of the workers in this country who are making clear not only to the Government but also to the General Council that they intend to defend their position against employers and Government conspiracies. The General Council's 'Programme for Action' placed before the Congress, is an important step forward from their previous position—but it still contains certain weaknesses.

For instance, it creates the atmosphere for the acceptance of the Donovan Commission which has many dangers for the movement. It accepts the prices and incomes policy which has militated against major sections advancing the campaign for wages and improved working conditions. But despite these weaknesses, the Congress

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expressed a unanimity that is to be welcomed in relation to the penal clauses and the registration of trade unions.

After all the talk at Congress, the issue now is—what is the next stage in terms of action? There can be no compromise and this must be the slogan of the movement.

As far as the White Paper is concerned, its total rejection must be called for by the movement and therefore we require to develop the struggle for a 24-hour general strike, organised and led by the General Council, on the date on which there is a second reading of the bill or, alternatively, when the movement considers it necessary.

A lobby of parliament is imperative on that date and in every locality the organisation of monster demonstrations by trades councils, constituency parties and all working class organisations, which will bring the workers on to the streets, must be organised on a scale that has never yet been witnessed.

The movement is strong. It can defeat any force in this country, once organised and given the necessary and correct leadership. Given this, it will respond, and such is the task for the General Council. By accepting this task, they will bring into action millions of workers who in the course of the struggle will recognise that it is not only necessary to defeat the White Paper but also to defeat the system that gives rise to mass unemployment which destroys the wealth of our country.

But to make the breakthrough, they must struggle for a socialist way forward for Britain.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

The Meerut Trial

The trial of thirty-one Indian working class leaders at Meerut occupies the centre of the political stage in India today. Attempts may be made to disregard it or belittle its importance (the *Daily Herald*, more shameless than the capitalist press, at first suppressed all mention of it), but it remains the most important event of the period in India, giving the truest indication of what is happening there and throwing the clearest light on the alignment of class forces at the present time . . . The Meerut trial reveals and expresses the new stage of acuter class antagonisms in India, it marks the ripening of the strength and consciousness of the Indian proletariat, it tests and exposes the insincerity and cowardice of the Indian bourgeois nationalists, and it provides the admission by British imperialism itself of their own recognition of the greatest threat and danger to themselves.

(From 'The Class Struggle in India', by Clemens Dutt, *Labour Monthly*, July 1929.)

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(2)

Bernard Panter
President, Manchester District Committee, AEF

KEEP politics out of the trade unions! Aided by the mass propaganda organs of the enemy the knights of the TUC have for decades propounded this disarming slogan which every shop steward and convener has heard echoed at any mass meeting where he has attempted to show the political reasons for the constant struggle against the boss.

Today faced with political intervention in trade union affairs (anti-trade union legislation), the whole movement, and particularly those leaders on the left who have failed to effectively refute that pernicious slogan, is reaping a harvest which has the appearance of a patchwork quilt of good and bad reactions.

Throughout the whole of Great Britain the rank and file are *not* spontaneously rising to their feet in anger at Castle's proposed Bill. They are *not* demonstrating in every city and town, and, in many areas, they are not even convinced that there should be opposition to legislation—why is this?

We are paying the penalty for an almost entirely economic approach to our struggles for advance on the shop floor (don't we also pay for it in the fact that the same workers who vote for militant and communist shop stewards will not vote for them in parliamentary and municipal elections). Because of the failure of right wing national trade union leaders to deliver the 'goods' in the past, we have had the development of sectionalism and parochialism on the wages front (with particular success for example in the Midlands) and now the emerging national left leaders, the Scanlons and the Joneses, are leading the battle without the army they deserve.

True there is movement. How else could the historic recall of the TUC have been forced upon those entrenched, reluctant knights. February 27, May 1 and June 5 all proved that the rank and file can be won for action—but only where a bold fearless approach, only where a determined effort has been made to explain the full implications has there been the response. Had the massive stoppages of Sheffield and Merseyside on May Day been duplicated in every industrial centre the bill would have been already dead.

Manchester, so often in the past in the vanguard of national struggles, cannot be satisfied with its efforts so far. Only a handful of plants, factories and sites participated on the three dates already mentioned and yet every major leading body has given a lead. The

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Manchester District Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers (AEF), the No. 29 Confederation District Committee and the Manchester and Salford Trades Council are three of the many district organisations (representing some 200,000 organised workers in total) who called for action to kill the bill.

Contrast the response in Manchester to that in nearby Stockport. Contrast the methods adopted in the latter town to involve the membership and you begin to see why there has been too little involvement in what is probably Britain's largest industrial conurbation.

Despite failure to get their call for action accepted by the Stockport Trades Council (on a constitutional point), the Stockport District Committee of the AEF undauntedly called a special meeting of their shop stewards. The call for a one day token stoppage on May Day was endorsed and, what is more important, so was the principle of taking the decision to shop floor meetings throughout the district. The result was that half the town's engineering workers participated in strike action.

Manchester's leadership failed, in the main, to take their call to the 'grass roots' and this lesson must be learned by them and leaderships elsewhere where action did not take place. The call itself is not enough —the discussion with the members, who after all take the final decision, is all important for developing the pressure necessary to defeat attacks on trade unionism.

This is not written with feelings of pessimism. Rather is my aim to try to analyse our weaknesses and to attempt to see what can be done—what surely must be done—to develop the kind of pressure which will *force* reactionaries to call officially for mass participation in industrial action to defeat this interference in the right of labour to sell their product (labour power) to the highest bidder.

So what has to be done? Every branch of every union must first of all discuss *In Place of Strife* and all which flows from it. Then, as I'm sure they will, they must express their opposition and call for official action. Every district and area committee must then do likewise—must go further than merely calling on their executives for action—must then take their message to more and more factory gates, to more and more shop stewards' committees. The key thing is to involve the rank and file at all stages—so that when, because of the pressure, the 'generals' (the executive committees and the General Council), the 'colonels' (local trade union committees) and the 'corporals' (shop stewards and conveners), make the call for action—the response is so overwhelming that the bill, and any ideas derived from it—will be killed 'stone dead'.

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(3) Frank Watters

Delegate at the National Conference Against Anti-Trade Union Legislation

'FLAMING JUNE' is usually related to the kind of weather we should expect. June 1969 will be remembered not for the weather conditions but for the flame that is spreading throughout the labour and trade union movement to ensure that the Government's penal clauses in the White Paper, *In Place of Strife*, never see the light of day.

Harold Wilson's and Barbara Castle's ears must have been ringing all day on Sunday, June 1, when nearly 1,000 delegates attended a national conference in Birmingham to express their opposition to the proposed legislation. From 85 towns and cities in Great Britain and Ireland came delegates from national, regional, district and area committees of trade unions representing 41 unions, delegates from 37 joint shop stewards' committees, 18 trades councils, and representatives from Labour and Communist Party branches. The BBC estimated over four million workers were represented. This was matched by the widest and most representative range of sponsors and speakers of any rank-and-file conference for many years. It was the rank-and-file TUC, and a sounding board for the TUC conference that was to take place the same week.

The theme 'Kill the bill or we will take industrial action' dominated the discussion and was fully backed by leaders of decisive unions, who carried this message from the Town Hall in Birmingham to the Fairfield Halls in Croydon. Mr. Hugh Scanlon didn't mince his words when he warned the Government: 'If the bill, with penal clauses, goes through we could not continue to pass resolutions. Our opposition would have to take a more active form.' Harry Urwin, Assistant General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, backed up this challenge and called on the trade union movement 'to close its ranks and prepare for a united battle to defeat the proposed legislation.' The Birmingham Trades Council delegates, representing 250,000 members, pledged to be at the spearhead of the resistance to the legislation.

The unity and harmony of the platform, which included two national Presidents, Hugh Scanlon and Bill Warman, the national General Secretary of the Draughtsmen's Union, George Doughty, and the Assistant General Secretary of Britain's largest union, Harry Urwin, along with a score of full-time trade union officials,

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was undoubtedly a new stage in the fight for a united left movement where rank-and-file shop floor opinion was allowed to be heard in formulating policies on such vital issues as the White Paper. This I hope will be developed to enable left trade union leaders and MPs to meet shop floor representatives to thrash out vital policies for the movement.

The diversity of viewpoints can be measured from the contribution of Dick Knowles, the Secretary of the Birmingham Borough Labour Party, who thought the TUC proposals were the basis for a compromise, and that of Kevin Halpin from the London Liaison Committee, who won loud applause for his complete rejection of the bill. But the most significant feature from this broad gathering was that not one delegate spoke in favour of the legislation. The resolution that was carried called for 'national industrial action in the event of the Government bringing forward penal legislation.' To ensure that the delegates attending the TUC were under no illusions, and that this conference meant what it said, the resolution urged 'the maximum number of delegates to attend the lobby on June 5.' Sid Easton, a London taxi driver, called for a massive demonstration in Parliament Square on the occasion of the second reading.

Greetings from the parliamentary left MPs were brought by Stan Orme, who declared that 'many MPs will vote against the bill under any circumstances and any conditions.' The only Labour MPs that attended were Christopher Price and Ioan Evans.

It was quite clear both from the platform and the floor of the conference that the lads and lassies understood the consequences if they fell for the trick that Barbara Castle and Harold Wilson are trying to pull on the trade union movement. Wilson and Castle would do well to pay heed to what Hugh Scanlon said: 'The trade unions have never been more united to kill the bill.' He advised the Government 'to drop the bill. Don't pass it and put it into cold storage,' said Scanlon. Harry Watson, President of the lightermen's union, who, like many delegates, expressed criticism of the TUC document, warned against the TUC doing the dirty work for Wilson and Castle.

The conference ended with a fighting speech by Bill Warman, President of the sheet metal workers' union, who called on all delegates to work as they have never worked before to ensure that if industrial action was called for, to defeat the legislation, this would get one hundred per cent support from the membership.

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SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY

Ruth First

IN May 1948 the Nationalist Party swept to power in South Africa. Led by Dr. Malan, they preached Afrikaner nationalism, anti-communism and a policy which has since become a byword for racism throughout the world—apartheid. Nazism had been crushed in Europe, but in South Africa it found a second home.

The implications soon became clear. The Suppression of Communism Act was tabled in parliament. It was to give the Government sweeping and arbitrary powers to ban individuals and organisations, to outlaw opposition and intimidate critics—all in the name of anti-communism.

The liberation movement was not deceived by the red bogey. The threat to communists was real, but so was the threat to all democratic non-racial opposition. The mass organisations of the African, Coloured and Indian peoples, the progressive trade union movement, radical youth organisations and moderate church groups—war was declared on them all. A massive campaign of resistance was called, culminating in huge demonstrations on May Day 1950. The Nationalist Government responded in a way that foreshadowed the massacre of Sharpeville ten years later. Eighteen Africans were shot dead—and the fruits of fascism lay on the ground for all to see.

The call went out for a national work stoppage, a day of mourning for the dead, of unity and solidarity and of rededication to the struggle for freedom. Thus was born the most important day in the political calendar of the South African revolution: June 26.

Every year since then, the African National Congress and its allies have commemorated South Africa Freedom Day. In 1952 it was the start of the famous defiance campaign when thousands of volunteers deliberately defied unjust laws and went to prison in protest against the apartheid laws. The defiance campaign lasted until the end of the year, and in the course of it over 8,000 men and women of all races were convicted. For a moment, white supremacy was stopped in its tracks. Nothing like it had been seen before on so vast a scale. Then, true to their ideology, the fascists resorted to violence and further repressive legislation.

In 1955, after months of wide and careful preparation, three thousand delegates from all parts of the country and all sorts of

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organisations of the oppressed peoples came together at Kliptown in Johannesburg, on June 26, to adopt the Freedom Charter. It gave the democratic alternative to apartheid, counterposing non-racialism to racialism, equality to discrimination, democracy to fascism, and economic self-determination to exploitation.

The Freedom Charter is an historic and living document of the South African revolution. Born of the daily experience of thousands of men and women, and fashioned in the course of militant mass struggles, it set the course for the future of a free South Africa. Its clear and eloquent prose matches the maturity of leadership and popular consciousness which it expresses. Today, when dozens of 'freedom programmes' of the Third World and the period of decolonisation are forgotten except by archivists and scholars, the Freedom Charter stands as the essential spirit of the South African nation.

To the Nationalists it was all treason. They went so far as to arrest 156 leaders and charge them with treason. And though the trial dragged on until 1960, the mass campaigns continued, and June 26 became rooted in the minds and hearts of all who were fighting against racism.

The International Conference of Solidarity with the people of Southern Africa held at Khartoum this year in January called upon all supporters of the liberation movements to show their solidarity by commemorating the national day of each of the countries of Southern Africa. Progressive forces in Britain will have at least two chances to do this in 1969. On July 6 an important conference will be held in London. Organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the conference will examine 'Liberation in Southern Africa and Guerrilla Warfare'. A special section will be devoted to the role of the British militant in supporting the revolution in Southern Africa. On June 28, a demonstration will march from Tower Hill through London to expose British capitalist collaboration with fascism in Southern Africa.

The Conference, referred to in the above article, on 'Liberation in Southern Africa and Guerrilla Warfare', will be on Sunday, July 6, from 2 p.m. to 6.30 p.m., at the Round House, Chalk Farm Road, London, N.W.1. Representatives of the ANC (South Africa), SWAPO (South-West Africa), ZAPU (Zimbabwe), FRELIMO (Mozambique) and MPLA (Angola) will be present, and speakers will include Basil Davidson, Ruth First, Stuart Hall and Ronald Segal. The demonstration on June 28 will leave Tower Hill at 2.30 p.m. and is being organised by an *ad hoc* committee. Further details can be obtained from the Committee, c/o Free Assembly, 41 Cecile Park, London, N.8.

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WOMEN IN THE SUDAN

Fatma Ahmed Ibrahim*
President of the Sudanese Women's Union

(This article was written before the recent events in the Sudan. On May 25 a revolutionary coup by the army took place against the coalition which governed the country. The new regime represents a national front of the democratic forces inside and outside the army. The policy declared is a democratic socialist policy, maintaining the right of the Sudanese people to progress and further development.)

THE Sudan lies to the south of Egypt. Its capital is Khartoum, about 1,000 miles from Cairo. The Sudan is large—nearly a million square miles—with fourteen million inhabitants. The country was independent until the year 1820 when it came under Turko-Egyptian rule which was terminated in 1885 by a national revolt headed by the Mahdi. In 1898 in the battle of Omdurman the Khalifa was defeated by the British who then ruled until 1956.

During the British rule and since independence development has been very slow. The country's economy is predominantly agricultural, cotton being the main cash crop. The small industrial sector is dominated by foreign capital. The gross national income is very low: £40 per head per year. The illiteracy rate is high and medical services are meagre, while the standard of living is low.

Society in the Sudan is a male society, being a Muslim country. In such a society women have had to fight against many disadvantages, since the man is the highest authority in the family. Thus society provides better facilities for male children in education and opportunities for work. The number of schools for boys, at all levels, is double or treble the number for girls. Welfare for mothers is very limited (there is one health centre per 150,000 persons) and thus the infant mortality rate is very high due to lack of facilities, ignorance and malnutrition.

As an employee or worker a woman does not receive comparable job training, qualifications, promotion or pension with her male counterpart. The only leave she can have is confinement leave (without pay), with the exception of women teachers who get four weeks' leave.

(Continued on page 314)

* Fatma Ahmed Ibrahim has been President of the SWU since 1952. She was Sudan's first woman Member of Parliament, elected in 1965, and was the first editor of *Sout El Maraa*. She is 37, is married and has one child.

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SUDANESE WOMEN CLAIM THEIR

1964—Sudanese Women's Union members demonstrate against the military government.

In 1965 Sudanese women won the right to vote and to be elected.

In some areas peasant women receive none of the pay for their work—their wages are still collected by the men.

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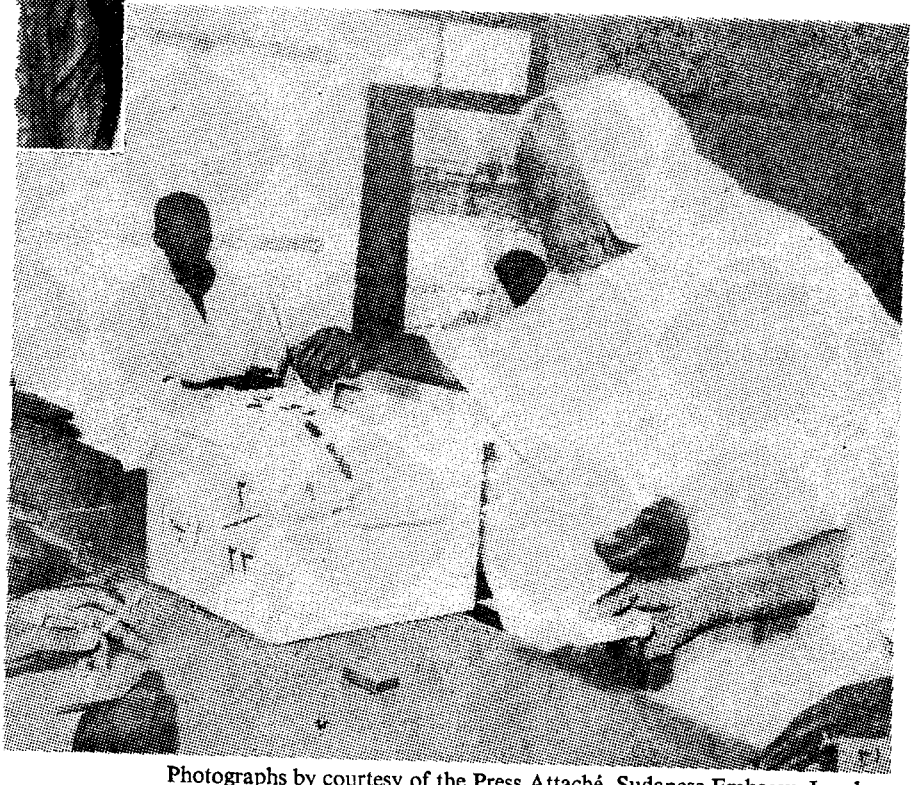
GHTS

Dr. Khalda Zahir, a prominent member of the SWU, graduated as a doctor in 1952—one of the first two women to qualify in the Sudan.



Photographs by courtesy of the Press Attaché, Sudanese Embassy, London

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The right of women to have equal opportunities has always been a slogan of the progressive forces and the national movement in the Sudan. In 1946, on the initiative of the progressive elements within the national movement, the first Women's Association was formed. This was followed by the Nurses' Trade Union; and in 1949 the Teachers' Trade Union was formed for both sexes. Counter-action from the British and the reactionary forces followed the old imperialist slogan of 'divide and rule' to split the Association.

But in 1952, despite all the counter movements, the Sudanese Women's Union, the largest women's organisation, was formed. The Union based its branches in the residential areas, and began painstakingly to carry out its job. A literacy campaign for women started; night schools to train housewives in needlework, house-keeping, child care, were opened. A social programme was laid down dealing with social problems of the women. On the political side the Union started a relentless fight for women's rights, politically and economically.

One of the great tasks facing the Union was how to convince the women to unite around socialist slogans. Economic freedom and political rights would not be attained without an ideologically united organisation. A means of reaching the mass of women was greatly needed. The first women's magazine, *Sout El Maraa* ('Women's Voice'), was published in 1955. This magazine played a great role in directing the women's movement, particularly during the campaign against the military regime in 1958-64.

The October revolution which overthrew the military regime in 1964 recognised the role played by the women and in 1965 women won the right to vote and to be elected—in the next election a woman was elected to the Constituent Assembly. This opened up the field of political and social life to women, and from this time they were elected to executives of parties and trade unions.

The Union was able to gain the support of other trade unions and professional bodies to put pressure on the Government for equal pay and working conditions for women, to be followed up by the attainment of equal social status in problems of divorce and marriage. Many tasks lie ahead of us and we are working hard among the masses to achieve them.

At a world level, the Union works with other women's organisations in their struggle for world peace. It is a member of the Women's International Democratic Federation and the Arab Women's General Union, and is a member of the Secretariat of the African Women's Congress.

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Higher Education Curricula

TRADE TRAINING? (1)

Digby Jacks

President, Institute of Education Union Society, and Executive Officer of the National Union of Students

THE training of teachers in this country in the main is carried out in institutions called colleges of education. Most students enter the colleges with two 'A' levels or similar qualifications and become qualified teachers after completing a three year teacher certificate course and a year's probation as part of the young teacher's first school appointment. In addition the colleges are gradually adopting a four year degree course for their more able students; this is of degree standard and called the B.Ed. The colleges, however, are not the only institutions which train teachers. A small but highly important section of the teaching profession is trained in the universities, in their departments of education. These are graduates from the 'normal' university and technical college degree courses. Students here do a one year Graduate Certificate of Education (Dip. Ed.) before entering the profession. Graduates are much more likely to gain prestigious posts in teaching (headships, heads of department) than are the certificated teachers.

Indeed, one of the major problems facing colleges of education and their students is that they are 'monotechnic' institutions—they train for one occupation only, unlike the universities and technical colleges. Unfortunately the young school leaver at the age of 18 has to make up his mind at this age, in effect, that he wishes to be a teacher for the remainder of his working life. Though the problem is eased by the fact that a proportion of students in the colleges are older than this and that there is some flexibility as to what type of school the student will in the end teach in (primary, secondary, etc.), the basic problem of inflexibility remains. Art students have been very vocal recently in pressing for a more open course structure leading to a variety of different occupations being available to an individual student. It is surprising perhaps that student teachers have not 'got the message'. What has been said is not to decry the teaching profession but rather to say that more attention needs to be paid to the fact that students are not given sufficient choice as to whether they really wish to be teachers or not. This is not merely student self indulgence. Many teachers leave the profession pre-

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maturely as a result of one of the central weaknesses in British education as it appears in teacher training—early specialisation.

In many ways the focal part of any teacher training course (nowadays it is more usually called 'teacher education', but for the reasons stated in the above paragraph the word training is more accurate) is the period of time actually spent teaching—the teaching practice. It is the 'crunch' one might say. There are probably more problems surrounding this part of the course than any other. The student often feels resentful that he is in an underprivileged situation in the schools and neglected by his college lecturers. In reality the student teacher has little in the way of rights or status while in the school and it can be like a non-swimmer being thrown in at the deep end.

Students often feel that the problems of discipline, authority and responsibility that are encountered on the teaching practice cannot be dealt with by college lecturers. Personally, after one 'bad' class which a lecturer had observed I was informed that he had no experience of such teaching situations, had no desire to experience them and wished me the best of luck! Unfortunately, in all too many cases the position of college lecturers is a soft option for those teachers in school who 'cannot stand the pace' and want an easier life with more pay. Very often they are incapable of advising students on real problems and consequently frequent protests are made at student meetings about poor teaching in the colleges.

Very often students are dissatisfied with the balance of the non-teaching practice parts of the course. Customarily it is divided into two components—'education' (studies in the psychology, sociology and philosophy of education) and 'main subjects' (what the student will actually teach in school—history, physical education, modern languages, etc.). Students complain that there is little relation between these two parts—one is often academic and rarified, the other pragmatic and detailed. Lecturers responsible for the different parts seem to understand little of the other section. Education course lecturers pay homage to the trappings of the academic subject. Main course lecturers talk in clichés or pay homage to a different set of academic subjects. Theory and practice are unrelated and students can get the worst of both worlds.

There is one significant omission from nearly all college courses. This is the adequate consideration of professional problems, particularly the teacher's rights, obligations and remuneration. Recently in London colleges of education the students went on 'strike' in protest at the recent Burnham pay award for teachers. Most of the

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college authorities agreed that the students could have their seminars, discussions and demonstrations. Many were even sympathetic. It was stated that students ought by the day's activities to learn more about the professional problems of being teachers. Fine, but why are not students able to learn about these problems fully from the college teachers as part of the course? Colleges have a reputation of producing docile individuals (some still regard them as finishing schools for young ladies), though the situation is changing. Students are taught that teaching is a worthwhile profession and one that inspires dedication. They are rarely told that the price of this is abysmally low pay.

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(2)

E. S. Jones

Lecturer in Chemistry at Slough College of Technology

AN assessment of the standard of the curricula in the field of further education reveals a complex situation as befits a sector of education with an almost infinite variation of courses.

On the one hand, since the overwhelming bulk of the courses are job orientated and many of the syllabuses are drawn up in the colleges by teachers who have come from the industry concerned, the criticism that the courses are unsuited and irrelevant to the needs of the students today is less sharp in the technological departments than has been expressed in this journal in connection with, for example, the schools of art.

Nevertheless, a large number of courses culminate in externally set examinations which will decisively influence the syllabus of the course, as in the case of the City and Guilds examinations and those for membership of professional bodies such as the Engineering Institutes and the Royal Institute of Chemistry. Teachers and practical people from industry are well represented on the City and Guilds examining boards, but in the case of the examinations for associateship of the professional institutions, which constitute an equivalent to the degree in universities, the influence of the man on the job fades and other influences, such as governmental ones, which are not purely educational in character, assume greater importance. There does not appear to be any recognised machinery for the expression of a student point of view about such examinations and courses, and the signs are that the professional institutions will strongly resist such a reform.

Thus even when students in technical colleges win representation

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on academic boards, they will still not be in a position to influence the character of a large number of decisive examinations. Progressive bodies and individuals in this sector of education have paid little attention to this problem, which will need tackling as the Government is using its influence with the councils of these bodies to get them to fall in line with and assist in the implementation of the rationalisation programme based on an economy drive which the Government is now endeavouring to push through.

As a result of this rationalisation, which is aimed at concentrating courses in certain colleges, the opportunities for the student in further education to pursue a course suiting his needs in a college near to his place of work or domicile have been considerably reduced. It must be remembered that students in this field are much more tied to a given locality than the average university student through links with an industrial establishment and also because many have married and have children. Thus when a Higher National Diploma course in electronics was stopped from running in a college to the *west* of London, because the numbers enrolled did not meet the requirements of the Department of Education and Science, and the students were directed to the nearest available course, which was in a college to the *east* of London, less than a quarter did in fact transfer. Thus the economy resulted in the loss of a number of students.

Another issue on which further discussion is needed is the 'liberal study' component of courses in further education. This is a part of the course time which is not tied to the vocational subjects and in which the student can be introduced to almost any other subject or subjects at the wish of the college. This provides an invaluable opportunity to broaden the educational content of a course of technical study and to introduce a humanistic component. These 'liberal studies' however are often regarded as being inferior in importance and status to the vocational subject by both staff and students and consequently there is a failure to get the best out of the time available, which could lead to calls for a reduction in the time allowance and a restriction placed on this valuable part of the course.

Students and the staff involved in the vocational studies should co-operate more closely with the teachers engaged in this part of the course to ensure that the maximum value is obtained from it.

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(3)

Brian Leonard*

THE present situation in higher education reflects to a considerable extent the dilemma facing capitalism. In any modern society economic and social progress depends to a large extent upon its ability to use science and technology to the full. This means not only that the educational system must be able to produce enough graduates of a high quality but also that there is long term planning of industrial research and development. It was quite clear from the report of the Swann Committee on *Manpower for Scientific Growth* (HMSO, 1968) that any long term planning, and therefore the efficient utilisation of the scientists and technologists who are being produced, is almost impossible because of the uncertainty of the overall economic conditions in the country. Hence the conflict between the need to apply science and technology for economic progress and the far reaching social consequences which this entails. This conflict is shown by the recent trends in higher education. During the period of relative boom in the early 60's there was an increased demand for science graduates by industry. The failure of the universities and technical colleges to meet these demands, combined with the pressure on the Government by progressive sections of the population to expand higher education and in particular to utilise the intellectual abilities of working class children which had always been neglected, led to the setting up of the Robbins Committee on higher education. Following the publication of the Committee's report in 1963 steps were taken to increase the number of university places by 80,000 over a five year period (from 117,000 in 1963). This was shortly followed by the rationalisation of university finance. No longer was this to be left entirely in the hands of the universities to administer as they thought necessary but was to be more closely scrutinised by the Government, to whom the universities were to be answerable on financial matters. Naturally, in some influential quarters, the cry went up for curtailment of university based research so that the staff would devote most of their energies to producing the graduates.

By reducing the expenditure on postgraduate education in favour of producing more first degree graduates the Government hoped that the immediate needs of industry would be satisfied. However, this short term solution is liable to have repercussions that are detrimental to scientific growth and manpower for the next decade

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at least. By proportionally reducing the number of postgraduate research grants in order to drive more graduates into industry, fundamental research in universities is bound to suffer. This becomes all the more likely when the financial squeeze on all spheres of education is also taken into account. And yet, surprising as it may seem, no survey has been made as to the potential requirement for people with higher degrees (M.Sc. or Ph.D.) in the near future. Any advanced society which curtails fundamental research on grounds of economy is not only extremely shortsighted but clearly hasn't learned the lessons of recent history. In Germany during the 30's for example, the main criterion for research was 'will it lead to a technically useful discovery?' and with a war economy this generally meant the discovery of a new piece of military hardware. As a consequence most of the biological and medical sciences were severely restricted, with the result that even today Germany lags behind in this field. It must always be remembered that without fundamental research a significant technological development is unlikely to take place.

There are two possible ways out of the present crisis in higher education. The most obvious is that the Government must give higher education, and particularly science education, the priority it deserves. An alternative way out is for private finance to play a bigger role in maintaining the universities as already occurs to a very large extent in the USA. Under these conditions, of course, the business interests see the college or university in much the same way as they see industry, and clearly profitability in educational matters (as measured in terms of the number of graduates produced and the relative usefulness of the research being undertaken) is the major criterion of success. This is bound to lead to the undergraduate curricula and the postgraduate research interests being dominated by the big business interests. In other cases the leading American universities such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Harvard, Yale and California are so dependent on Government sponsored research contracts (particularly the Defence Department) that it is questionable whether real academic freedom on any major issue can be exercised by the university authorities. This situation was recently highlighted by the token strike of scientists in many of the departments in MIT against the increasing dependence of research there upon Defence Department contracts. Quite clearly such a situation can present an even more serious threat to higher education than lack of Government grants and offers no solution to the problems facing education at the present time.

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LIGHT ON MONGOLIA

Ivor Montagu

The People's Republic of Mongolia, a General Reference Guide by A. J. K. Saunders. *Oxford University Press*, 232 pp., 45s.

The Modern History of Mongolia by Dr. C. R. Bawden. *Weidenfeld & Nicolson*, 460 pp., 63s.

Mongolia—the region formerly known as 'Outer Mongolia'—was the second country in the world to follow the path toward socialism opened by the October Revolution. It was the first in Asia to do so. It was the first People's Republic. Since this beginning it has been a loyal associate of the USSR, able to count upon the latter for advice, example, and for more material aid, especially at times of danger from the encroaching group of Russian counter-revolutionaries, of pre-liberation exploiters from China, of Japanese expansionists, of US practitioners of the free 'dollar' society.

How has it fared since it took the first step forward by the side of its mighty neighbour?

The answer is of growing importance to quite a large part of the world. It is of interest to every people faced with the problem of overcoming in a short time material poverty while retaining its national identity, of somehow by-passing, or short-cutting, via the socialist path, the centuries-long obstacles that separate non-industrial societies from the modern age.

Yet there are very few in this country who could attempt an answer to this question. Mongolists and would-be Mongolists in Britain are yet but a handful and Mongolia still 'a far-off country' of which most of us know nothing. Here the popular contacts even lag behind governmental initiatives, for Mongolia has for some years now been accepted as a UN member over the ruins of Taiwan and US State Department objections, and ambassadors and cultural agreements have been exchanged with the Government of St. James.

The library shelves have not been quite empty. There have been accounts from ignorant tourists (the present reviewer), disgruntled tourists (René MacColl) and extremely well-informed tourists (Professor Owen Lattimore). But the two books under review give us more abundant and more thorough material than has ever been available before.

The first is exactly the guide it says it is and a very full one at that. It gives general information and special, on government, party, army, sciences, press, education, health, religion, museums, universities, literature, television and the arts, sport, finance, industry, agriculture, transport, trade—statistics, names, notes, anniversaries, geography, Mongols outside Mongolia, dialects, scripts, eats, drinks, even phrases.

Do you want to know who is doing what, what is being done where, what wave-length to find which broadcasting station, how much something is likely to cost, what you should try to say—more vital still—what someone may be trying to say to you? It is all here, in a short book of 232 pages.

Such compression makes it of course quite unreadable, but compilation so complete makes it also quite impossible to do without, if you are either visiting or studying the country. As a first fruit of the new cultural relations between Britain and Mongolia it is highly promising.

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Dr. Charles Bawden's history is a profound and detailed work, nearly twice as long. It represents a real turn in Mongolian studies outside the Russian and Mongolian languages. Dr. Bawden, on a British Council research exchange, has had opportunity to consult the national libraries in Ulan-Bator, and for the first time in any western language we have an historical account making use of indigenous and original sources.

'Modern', in Dr. Bawden's usage covers from around the 15th and 16th century to the present day, that is from the break-up of the remnants of Genghis Khan's Empire, the end of the Mongol dynasty in China, the decline of Mongolia back into internal civil conflict with the Khanates having become mere empty pretensions, and the conquest of both Mongolia and China by the Manchus, to the autonomy declared in 1911, the revolution, the republic and its secularisation, and the return, however modest, to the world's stage.

Hitherto only very little, and much of that guesswork or at third hand, has been known of the first 400 years of the period covered by Dr. Bawden, and of the more recent period only the broad outlines.

It has been known that in the first few years after the October Revolution, the mad ex-Tsarist officer General Ungern-Sternberg and his rabble together with Chinese occupation troops, at each other's throats, made of the whole of Mongolia a bloodstained slaughterous 'dog's breakfast' ('chien-lit' to use President de Gaulle's translation of the Montgomery phrase), everyone was relieved when literally a handful of revolutionaries succeeded in rousing the countryside and gaining, through Lenin's help, the means of driving them out. That later, on the death of the evil Buddhist incarnation, who was its titular ruler, the Bogdogegen, in 1924 the country was declared a republic. That it first went right; then tried collectivisation long before there was either will to decide it or machinery to benefit from it; then wavered between left and right struggling against the lamaism that constituted a crushing burden of unproductivity, ignorance and venereal disease (40 per cent of the adult males were in monasteries) and a perpetually renewing source of tribalism, reaction and conspiracy with foreign imperialists from whom rescue was expected; later together with the Soviet Army defeated the invading Japanese first at Khalkin-Gol, before the Hitler war, then finally in Manchuria just before the Japanese surrender which this defeat accelerated; and lastly since the second world war, and particularly during the honeymoon period of friendship between USSR and People's China, achieved gigantic strides with the encouragement of both.

Now at last, thanks to Dr. Bawden's industry, application and scholarship, we can dot many of the *i*s, cross many of the *t*s. Many of them, not all. For what we have is not '*The* History' as the title claims, but something less, '*A* History'. An invaluable array of hitherto inaccessible facts and records. But, in this form, tilted all over to one side, out of kilter, skew-whiff.

For Dr. Bawden is not one person, but two in one, a classic of schizophrenia. On the one hand there is the scrupulous scholar, whose integrity obliges him to put down everything as he finds it. On the other is the fanatic, so devoured by anti-communist mania, that common-sense flies out of the window and spleen distorts his understanding of everything he describes.

Dr. Bawden has not the slightest difficulty in documenting bloodbaths, tragic injustice committed by revolutionaries against many probably innocent of the charges against them, including each other, and contradictions in speeches

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and records, confusion, vacillation, all in the stormy course of the social transformation that he describes and, for the first time, reduces to some kind of probable, no doubt well-founded, orderly pattern. Where he errs is in imagining this the result of some wilful fault of revolutionaries or their folly, worse still, their blind obedience to alien (Soviet, of course) command. He does not see events as the inevitable accompaniment of revolution in such a setting; the result of the working of tradition, circumstance and environment acting in opposition to the patriotic will for betterment of imperfect human beings, and the whole picture as one in which, despite their imperfections, the devotion and hard-bought experience of these erring human beings have brought their country at the last to a tranquillity, a prosperity, a liberation by knowledge, and a national integrity undreamed of even as a possibility by *every* western visitor in pre-revolutionary times.

Dr. Bawden's honesty obliges him to admit that the debts, brutishness and disease of pre-revolution Mongolia were colossal, that its feudal princes and lama-politicals did in fact plot with Chinese and Japanese, that bloodshed, much of it careless, had been characteristic of argument in the whole Mongolian past—and yet the moment this tree bears fruit in shaping the errors and efforts of the revolutionary struggle, he seems to think it a fault of revolution. All the time he is mentally comparing the events that he has painstakingly unearthed with some liberal Utopian model in which, all without tears, it would have been possible to remove injustice, spread education, reform religion, end corruption and invent democracy, avoid leaning upon the USSR and yet escape the wolves of pre-liberation China and Japan. So far does Dr. Bawden's prejudice and dream world extend that all the way through his description of the struggle with the monstrous lamaistic system—corrupt, cruel, ignorant, anti-national, enslaving, diseased, riddled with Shamanism—this history of his refers to it as 'the church'—so that the Bogdogegen, self-indulgent, diseased and syphilitic, treacherous, poisoning his enemies (all this Bawden of course records), with pornographic pictures behind the mirrors in his palace, becomes a sort of Archbishop of Canterbury, a hero-Becket withstanding Edward the II, personified by the impious Reds.

The trouble with such scholars as Dr. Bawden is that they still believe in Father Christmas. They have never outgrown their Foreign Office Eton trousers. In the case of Mongolia the *real* alternative to revolution with all its troubles would have been national, even physical, extinction. 'The establishment of the Bolshevik regime is, I believe, the last act in the tragedy of Mongolia. The doom of the Mongols, as a race, is sealed,' was the verdict of the great American traveller and scientist, Chapman Andrews, as late as 1932. Now Mongolia has the highest standard of living of any country in Asia (in the sense of less poverty) and has opened to its people the doors of the twentieth century. Instead of contrasting past Mongolian suffering and degradation with the Mongolia of today (to which Saunders's book is quite adequate testimony), and making this Himalayan-scale transformation the departure point and touchstone of proper judgement, Dr. Bawden's certainty that revolution can never be successful forces him to conclude that the nowadays Mongols can only be pitied because they don't know they ought to be unhappy.

All the more honour to Dr. Bawden's integrity as a scholar in that his energetic research has produced such an informative work in a field previously so blank. All it needs is a pinch of salt.

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EARL MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

Commander Edgar P. Young, R.N. Retired

IT was not until late in January of this year (1969) that governmental authority was given for the publication of Section E of *The Report to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by the Supreme Allied Commander South East Asia, 1943-1945*, by Vice-Admiral The Earl Mountbatten of Burma, the previous sections of which were published in 1951. The 18 years delay in the publication of this concluding section, headed 'Post Surrender Tasks', is explained by Mountbatten in a preface, dated 1968, as being due to the fact that many of the problems with which the author had to grapple after Japan's surrender 'involved the interests and policies of allied and other governments and remained unsolved for many years after the completion of his report.' This section was, therefore, he writes, 'subject to political considerations.' When one reads this publication, one can understand well why our Government has delayed its appearance, for it is a terrible indictment of the Governments of France and the Netherlands. It is an even worse indictment of our own (Labour) Government, for, without its approval and active support, the others mentioned could not have done what they did.

For the discerning reader the net effect of this document is to show that the present situation in South-East Asia is in continuation of that which Mountbatten has described and which he himself produced; one of imperialist aggression against the peoples there. Then as now the British Government's primary concern has been to preserve its hold on the dollar income derived from Malaya, which exceeds that earned by the whole of Britain's industry, and it contrives cunningly to use other countries as catspaws to that end, while pretending not to be involved. Mountbatten has been at pains to create the impression that he disapproves of the double-facedness and double-dealing involved, but his attitude is revealed in his 1968 preface, where he writes:

> In French Indo-China the decision to divide the country on the 16th parallel, and put the north under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, caused great difficulty at the time and sowed the seed for even greater conflicts in the years to come.

In fairness to Mountbatten, it must be admitted that the assignment to his already extensive South-East Asia Command of all the South-West Pacific area south of the Philippines was a tough one: the Combined Chiefs of Staff had 'added half-a-million square

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miles of land to the million square miles that the Command had already covered, the population of the enlarged Command totalling more than 128,000,000 people.' This was done at short notice, moreover, for the transfer was not made definite until the Potsdam Conference, i.e. only three weeks before it came into operation, on August 15.

Mountbatten had made it a condition of his acceptance of this added burden that 'General MacArthur's appropriate intelligence files, as well as those members of his intelligence staff who had specialised in the areas he would be turning over, were available to him in ample time.' But he stated, in an earlier section of his report: 'Neither the troops, the shipping, nor the intelligence I had asked for were available to me.' To which he added the astonishing footnote: 'Nor were they ever made available to me.'

This complaint is repeated in his 1968 preface, but despite this, I find it quite impossible to accept that he really believed, as he states in paragraph one, that

> throughout this vast area there existed no reliable civil police, and (except in Siam) no civil government with even a shadow of independent administration.

I remember that a good deal about the development of the national liberation movements in French Indo-China and in the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) was at that time known to us in the Union of Democratic Control, and if SEAC Headquarters were unaware of this on August 15, 1945, it can hardly have failed to notice that a State of Independent Indonesia was established on August 18, as this was broadcast over the whole network of Japanese radio, or that a Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established on September 2 of the same year. It seems to me, therefore, that Mountbatten has pleaded ignorance in these connections as an excuse for his double-dealing with those who were found effectively in charge when his token forces landed at Saigon and Tandjong Priok (the port for Djakarta). His orders from the Combined Chiefs of Staff were that these were only to disarm the Japanese and to rescue prisoners-of-war and internees and not to intervene in local politics.

As regards French Indo-China, Mountbatten states that he had been told by the Combined Chiefs of Staff at Potsdam that

> French forces, with civil officials, would be responsible for the administration of the country, civil administration being carried out by the French even in the key areas in which my forces would be operating.

But this was, of course, in flat contradiction with the Allied agree-

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ments at Teheran, Yalta and, most recently at Potsdam, that France was not to return to Indo-China, and evidence that Mountbatten was aware of this may be found in *The History of Vietnam, 1940-1952*, by the authoritative French historian Phillipe Devillers. According to Devillers, the French General Leclerc, when he arrived at SEAC Headquarters in Kandy on August 22, was told bluntly by Mountbatten:

> If Roosevelt were alive, you would not return to Indo-China. Now that he is dead, General de Gaulle, who is now in Washington, may be able to persuade President Truman to revise that decision.

General Leclerc then cabled to Paris and to Washington pleading for that decision to be modified, but to no avail. Notwithstanding this, however,

> Mountbatten and his staff showed themselves very obliging. They provided General Leclerc with aircraft, landing vessels, supplies of food, fuel and medical requisites, tropical clothing (of which he had none), munitions, and even spare parts. Thanks to their strenuous efforts, he had, a month later, a weapon ready for immediate use.

In the meanwhile, Major-General Gracey, Mountbatten's deputy at Saigon, in defiance of his orders, released from prison French colonialists who had collaborated to the last with the Japanese, gave them arms, and when they began to use these to murder Vietnamese and destroy their administration he used Japanese troops (whom he had been sent to disarm) to supplement his exiguous force of Gurkhas 'to restore law and order' and to hold a bridgehead for the eventual return of the French, to re-establish their colonial rule.

It may be recalled that our then Secretary of State for War, Mr. J. J. Lawson, declared publicly at that time that

> Britain's obligations to her Allies would not involve fighting for the French against the people of Indo-China or for the Dutch against the Nationalists in Java.

One may assume, however, that Mountbatten recognised this statement as 'eyewash' for the British public and that in allowing (perhaps secretly encouraging) Major-General Gracey to do the dirty on the Vietnamese he behaved—behaved approvingly—in accordance with what he states in paragraph 20:

> This attitude (i.e. of the French) was supported by His Majesty's Government in an agreement made with the French Government concerning French Indo-China.

As regards Indonesia, Mountbatten's record is no less black. There

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he instructed the Japanese Commander in Chief, Field Marshal Terauchi, that 'he would be held responsible for maintaining law and order until the Allies took over the country'. This was an embarrassment for Field Marshal Terauchi and his staff, of course, since they had already ceded authority to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. For the Indonesians it was worse than that: Dorothy Woodman writes, in her book *The Republic of Indonesia:*

> These instructions gave serious offence to the Indonesians, then enthusiastically celebrating their newly formed Republic. They considered themselves as the new rulers, and it was on them, not on the Japanese, that responsibility for law and order lay.

This clumsy *faux pas* was the prelude to a policy of thinly veiled collaboration with the Dutch Government in opening the way for the re-entry of Dutch armed forces to reconquer Indonesia. Mountbatten writes (paragraph 41) that on September 28, the eve of the unopposed landing of British armed forces, together with some Dutch, at Batavia, he had pointed out 'in the presence of the Secretary of State of War, the importance I attached, as a matter of military expediency, to opening negotiations with the Indonesians as soon as possible.' But he admits later (paragraph 44) that he 'had been given to understand that the Netherlands' authorities expected to resume the government of the NEI as they had left it in 1942.' It is clear, therefore, that he was acting in accordance with the lying statement made in the House of Commons on October 17 by Mr. Attlee:

> In Java we found that, outside Batavia, control had in fact been largely relinquished by the Japanese to an Indonesian independence movement. While we have had to take account of this movement, we must be careful about accepting its claims at face value. It has been sponsored by the Japanese for two or three years and during that time the people of the territory have been cut off from all outside developments.

To which Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker added, in reply to a question:

> HM Government of course recognises no authority but that of the Netherlands in all territories which are under the sovereignty of our Dutch Allies.

Without going into what happened at that time in Malaya, it is quite patent from the foregoing that Mountbatten acted throughout as a British imperialist, the more dangerous because he is more cunning than the 'makee-learn' imperialists of our Labour Government.

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"IM NOT WORRIED ANYONE CAN SEE ITS ONLY A DOVE"

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SHALL WAR CRIMINALS GO FREE?

D. N. Pritt

TWO problems, not just one, arise in relation to the prosecution of war criminals in West Germany—that of securing adequate prosecution and that of defeating West German attempts to apply statutory limitation to the prosecutions and thus to end all new cases after the end of this year.

On the first problem, the legal position is clear. These crimes are crimes under international law, which under the constitution of West Germany is part of the law of the state and takes precedence over its domestic laws.

The crimes themselves were unbelievably hideous acts of deliberate Nazi policy; take as just one example the plan, worked out in full detail by high officials, for the murder of every Jew on whom the Nazis could lay their hands in any country; and it is prosecutions for crimes of that sort which West Germany has in effect been sabotaging. The means used by most, but happily not by all, West German investigating and prosecuting authorities and courts for this sabotage have been varied. The work of seeking out the criminals and finding evidence of their crimes has been carried out slowly, incompletely, and unsystematically; then, in many cases where, in spite of that, there has been ample evidence to secure convictions, the authorities have ruled that the evidence was insufficient and have dropped the cases; then, when criminals have actually been brought to trial, judges have often acquitted them for quite indefensible reasons, or have convicted them but imposed ludicrously short sentences. And finally, those who have been adequately sentenced are often released by the government after a short interval.

The motives lying behind this misbehaviour are both serious and dangerous; the position is that the same greedy and aggressive ruling class which created the Nazi state and governed it, and employed these war criminals to carry out the war crimes which formed an integral part of its policy, is in control of the Federal Republic today, and is openly preaching the taking over by force not only of East Germany—the German Democratic Republic—but of all the territories held by Nazi Germany at the end of 1937, and of Sudetenland as well. For such policies, and for the Hitler-style dictatorship for which it has already legislated with a view to suppressing internal resistance to its policies and to making it easier to launch

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war swiftly in Europe, it needs the services of these war-criminals and of people of the same outlook; the last thing it wants to do is to discourage them by prosecutions. As is well-known, the apparatus of West German government—including the armed forces, the judiciary, the educational system, and the ministries, particularly the Foreign Office—is for these reasons still staffed by thousands of men with black Nazi pasts.

Turning to the question of statutory limitation, which is 'all of a piece' with the sabotage of prosecutions, once again the legal position is clear. Only international law could provide for the limitation of international crimes, and it has not done so. (It would moreover be utterly inappropriate to make any such provision. In countries which make such provision for crimes created by their own law, it is reasonable that the state should use its power to forgive, after a lapse of time, crimes committed against itself; but here the crimes are crimes of the Nazi state itself (to which West Germany claims to be the successor state), carried out by its citizens not *against* it but on its behalf, and the attempted limitation is in effect the state forgiving the state.)

The legal position has been put beyond any doubts that might have been entertained, by the 'International Convention on the non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity', adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 26, 1968, which affirmed that no limitation applied, and called on all states adhering to the Convention to pass any legislation needed to establish this position in its own territories.

In defiance of the true legal position, West Germany has hitherto sought to apply its own domestic laws of limitation to these prosecutions. This would have put an end *de facto* to all prosecutions launched after May 9, 1965, but when that date approached public opinion both in the world and in West Germany itself was strong enough to force the West German Government to prolong this period until December 31, 1969. As this date in its turn drew near, public opinion was again aroused—and in particular was developed and expressed at a Conference held in Moscow on March 25-28, 1969, and attended by eminent lawyers from almost every state in Eastern and Western Europe, including West Germany. In the 'Appeal' adopted at its final session, the Conference called on the governments of all countries to adopt the Convention which I have described above. It was hoped and almost expected that the West German Government would make, or pretend to make, some response to public opinion in the matter; and it is commonly believed that it has indeed done

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so, for within a month of the Conference the West German Government brought in a bill in its parliament which was paraded as really getting rid of statutory limitation for these crimes. But it is unwise to accept 'parades', and one must look at the bill. In its present form —and it will not be strengthened unless public opinion is swiftly and powerfully brought to bear—it withdraws the application of its law of limitation not from war crimes in general but only from those which fall within the description of 'murder and genocide', leaving subject to limitation all other war crimes, including for example manslaughter and all the horrors of maltreatment of slave labour. The West German and other defenders of the bill claim that it will hit the main criminals whilst leaving the 'small fry' free; but it is more than likely to have the reverse effect, for the 'desk-murderers', who sat in their ministries and laid down the policies of wholesale murder which were then carried out 'on the ground' by Nazis in uniform, may well be left free, on the ground that only those who actually carried out the murders are guilty of murder in the eye of the law, and that the policy-makers are guilty only of incitement or conspiracy.

Moreover, the whole procedure of dealing with war crimes, and the vital decision as to which crimes should be recognised as subject or not subject to limitation, are still to lie in the hands of the authorities who have dealt with the whole matter hitherto; all the methods of sabotage described above are still available, and there is nothing to suggest that they will not be used.

Thus, there is still much to be done to compel West Germany to sign the Convention, which it is still refusing to sign, and to carry forward the work of investigation, prosecution, and punishment with greater sincerity and urgency. We must awaken public opinion in every country, and bring pressure to bear on all governments that seek to help the West Germans to 'drag their feet'. It is of the greatest importance to international morality, to the future behaviour of the West German Government, and to the cause of peace in the world, that the really guilty men should be effectively punished, and the lesson thus brought home to all who commit or plan to commit further war crimes and crimes against humanity, whether in Europe or Asia or elsewhere, that mankind will not tolerate such conduct.

P.S.: Since the above article was written, there has been a somewhat sinister development, in the shape of a decision given by the Federal Supreme Court (Bundesgerichtshof) of West Germany on May 20, 1969, to the effect that, by reason of an amendment to the West German Criminal Code which came into

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force in October, 1968, acts which on their face might constitute a crime shall nevertheless not be punishable if 'particular personal characteristics, giving ground for criminal liability on the part of the accused', are not present. To lawyers, this would appear to be no more than a provision of the kind common to most systems of law, that punishment should follow a criminal act only if it is committed with a guilty intention; and the Minister who introduced the amendment in the Bundestag declared that it was designed for the protection of honest men, giving as an example traffic offences, of which he said that honest men were often convicted; he added that the amendment would not cover 'instigators and desk-murderers' (i.e., men who sat at their desks in ministries and planned wholesale murder).

But the Supreme Court, when it had the opportunity to apply this amendment, ruled that a man who had been involved in the mass murder of inhabitants of 'Jewish camps' in Poland during the war, and had been convicted by a trial court of 'complicity in murder without base motives', must be acquitted on the ground that the conditions laid down by the amendment above mentioned were not fulfilled. The Court also ordered that its decision should be binding on all courts in West Germany.

In my opinion, which is shared by several commentators in West Germany itself, this decision creates a position in which many serious Nazi criminals have little or no need to worry any longer about the possibility of their crimes not being barred by statutory limitation, since—if they were now prosecuted for their crimes committed in the Second World War—it would be difficult or impossible to prove, after the long lapse of time, 'particular personal characteristics' to take their case out of the operation of the amendment as interpreted by the Supreme Court, and they would thus be acquitted like the man who escaped on May 20.

D. N. Pritt

BOOKS

Consumers in Politics

Tom Carbery

Manchester University Press, 276 pp., 50s.

TOM CARBERY has given a long-overdue account of the formation and development of the Co-operative Party.

As long ago as 1897 the Central Board of the Co-operative Union felt it was 'time for direct representation of the Co-operative Movement in parliament,' but there was little or no support from the Movement for this move and in 1900, Congress did a volte-face when it voted 905 to 409 against representation in parliament. Carbery points to the grim irony of this in a year when the Labour Representation Committee was born, which led to the formation of the Labour Party. 'Thus, when the Unions and the Socialist Societies were coming out in favour of direct parliamentary representation, the Co-operatives were rejecting the same idea.'

The debate continued until 1917 when Congress took the now historic decision to enter politics directly. In subsequent years, the Co-ops ran candidates with little success and often against Labour candidates. This made for strained relations between the two Parties and in 1927 a Labour/Co-operative agreement was reached on an alliance of the two Parties at elections and giving local Co-operative

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Parties the right to affiliate to divisional Labour Parties. The result of this was seen at the 1929 General Election when the Co-operative Party had nine of its twelve candidates elected, some of them achieving office in the Labour Government. From then on until 1945 Carbery regards as 'The Wasted Years'. The Party was unable to find any distinctive philosophy and, apart from taxation, there was 'no topic on which their pronouncements were distinguishable from those of the Labour Party.' Yet, as today, because of its opposition to an affiliation at national level, it had no say in the shaping of Labour's policies. In other words—we must keep out but we must not be different!

It is when Carbery moves into contemporary times that the book loses its force and importance. Like so many, he finds the 'left-wing' of the Party an embarrassment and suggests that if only they could be contained, all would be well. He doesn't make clear that the policies of this 'left-wing' have been accepted overwhelmingly by conference year after year, despite the opposition of a minority, including Dr. Carbery. On the broad political issues, the Party has an excellent record. Where it is being questioned is on its achievements in defence of the co-operative movement and its role in pursuing other co-operative forms of ownership. However good or bad the Party may be on other matters, if it fails in this crucial issue of defending its own commercial interests, then the movement may well seek other ways of protecting itself than through a separate political party.

In the last sentence of his book, Carbery says: 'The short-term picture is clear and fine, the long-term much less certain.' I am not so sure that it isn't the other way around.

ALFRED LOMAS

The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx

David McLennan

Macmillan, 170 pp., 55s.

MARXISM IS IN THE FOREFRONT of attention nowadays. Opinions about it, favourable, critical or hostile, are almost compulsory in treating all manner of subjects, and not merely economics or politics. Increasing interest is being shown in the genesis and development of the views of Marx and Engels, the founders of Marxism. That development took place against the background of the new trends of philosophical and political thought that arose in Germany in the period of intellectual ferment and growth of revolutionary democratic ideas after the death of Hegel in 1831. Hence a study of these trends, represented particularly by the Young Hegelians, who started out as adherents of Hegel's idealist philosophy, is important for understanding how Marxism arose. A useful contribution to such a study is provided by McLennan, a young lecturer of Kent University, in this scholarly survey of the views of the leading Young Hegelians in the conditions of that time. After describing the general characteristics of the Young Hegelian movement he devotes separate sections to four of its leading exponents: Bruno Bauer, Feuerbach, Stirner and Hess. His special aim is to show Marx's debt to these thinkers. In spite of a final disclaimer that this 'does not imply any diminution of Marx's intellectual stature,' one cannot help feeling that he over-emphasises the extent to which Marx was influenced by them and derived his ideas and even his language from them. Marx freely used Feuerbach's terminology, for instance, but the substance of his thought showed a profound difference, and from early on Marx was in continual conflict with the Young Hegelians. McLennan

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tends to slur over these differences, for instance in relation to Marx's important role as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, and in many respects he is less than fair in his attitude to Marx and Engels. He even says that 'Marx is notoriously a bad guide to his opponents' views.' The large section on Feuerbach is particularly open to criticism, for he tries to contest the view that Feuerbach was a materialist, saying of Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* that 'the book was not materialist in the normal sense of the word' and describing it as 'the book that Engels tries to represent as materialist.' Feuerbach's basis was an anthropological materialism and an idealist conception of history but he consistently put forward a materialist world outlook in opposition to idealist metaphysics as brilliantly borne out in Lenin's work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. The study of the Young Hegelians helps to illuminate the path of Marx and Engels from idealism and revolutionary democratic views to dialectical and historical materialism and communism, and therein lies their chief importance.

CLEMENS DUTT

Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare

Kwame Nkrumah

Panaf Books, 122 pp., 12s. 6d.

THE STRUGGLE FOR national liberation takes many forms. In recent years armed guerrilla movements have grown in several parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The heroic resistance of the people of South Vietnam, with heavy blows inflicted against US imperialism, has made a big impact and provided valuable lessons for guerrilla fighters everywhere.

From his state of enforced exile in Conakry this little handbook by Kwame Nkrumah is intended as a guide to advance the armed liberation struggle, especially in Africa. Within its restricted compass there is a useful analysis of imperialist strategy, with US imperialism as the pace-setter for aggression, together with a brief survey of the methods of neo-colonialism.

Nkrumah makes clear that national independence is not the end of the struggle, and that final liberation depends on advancing to socialism, stressing that:

'There is only one true socialism and that is scientific socialism, the principles of which are abiding and universal.'

Despite its positive features the book as a whole is disappointing. Stress is laid on what is described as 'collective' imperialism, as if within this framework there is no conflict of imperialist interests.

The first sentence declares that: 'The new phase of the armed revolutionary struggle in Africa embraces the entire continent.' This is certainly a sweeping statement that bears no relation to the actual situation in Africa. It is true for southern Africa, but to give the impression that the 'armed revolutionary struggle' embraces the 39 independent African states certainly needs a vivid imagination!

It is certainly essential that these states give more positive aid to the armed liberation struggle in southern Africa. Though the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is giving considerable material aid, the situation demands far more.

From this standpoint Nkrumah urges the need for the formation of an All-African People's Revolutionary Party and an All-African People's Revolutionary Army but is silent on his long-standing advocacy of an All-African Government.

One cannot avoid the impression that these objectives are extremely remote from the real situation in

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Africa. There are not only conflicting trends between African states but even within the governments of these states. It would seem far more useful at this stage to raise the revolutionary tempo within the existing states to strengthen the political level of leadership with the OAU to the point of more decisive aid to the armed struggle in southern Africa, as an essential element against all forms of imperialist domination in Africa as a whole.

IDRIS COX

Documents of the First International, Vol. V, 1871-1872

Lawrence & Wishart, 626 pp., 21s.

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS the final instalment of minutes of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, before the latter in effect ceased practical activity at The Hague Congress in 1872. Much in it recalls previous volumes—the regular moral and if possible material aid to strikers, whether in Britain or abroad; the continued formation of new branches, and affiliations of (or support by) new trade unions; vigorous debate on the need for British workers to support the Irish struggle.

But these were the months that followed the first great experience of the proletariat in any country in establishing and holding political power—the Paris Commune (March-May, 1871). An entirely new epoch in working-class history had opened—and this was stamped unmistakably on the discussions and activities of the International.

Here are rapid stages in the marrying of socialist theory with working-class experience, under the guidance of Marx and Engels: the introduction into the rules of the declaration of its 1871 London Conference (after the Commune) that the working class needs to constitute itself into a political party 'distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes' (pp. 262-3): the exposure of the petty-bourgeois *basis* of anarchism, contrasted with the International's true aim of 'abolition of classes' (pp. 365, 386-7, 389): and the Marxist attitude to the state, admirably concise (p. 407).

Here in outline is the first Marxist analysis of the possible transformation of a capitalist war—in this case the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 (pp. 454-5).

Here is the graphic account, not available in English since it was printed at the time in the *International Herald*, of the world-wide campaign of slander and persecution of the International and its supporters after the overthrow of the Commune, contained in the General Council's report to The Hague Congress—and recalling parallels within living memory (pp. 454-461).

Here is a series of warnings against 'middle-class humbugs' taking advantage of that campaign to creep into workers' organisations and sow confusion (pp. 124-6, 243, 251).

Here, too, are instructive illustrations in the proceedings of the General Council itself that, under the pressure of such circumstances, the political horizon of some of its members narrowed as the problems before them grew bigger, and they fell into either opportunism or petty intrigue, sometimes both, against the revolutionary policies of Marx, Engels and their supporters.

In these respects the volume has a quite independent importance and deserves a special place on socialists' bookshelves.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

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'IN the present fight against the anti-trade union offensive *Labour Monthly* is more than ever indispensable to provide the ammunition.' This remark by a delegate at one of the recent trade union conferences to one of our sellers is typical of the response which our journal has met everywhere at these gatherings. We express our thanks to our friends among the delegates who have been so helpful in spreading the journal at the conferences.

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